

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10
AGRE-00 AID-05 EB-08 USIA-06 COME-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00
CU-02 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 FRB-03 OMB-01 ITC-01 SP-02
LAB-04 OIC-02 SIL-01 STR-04 CEA-01 IOE-00 CAB-02
DODE-00 DOTE-00 FAA-00 /109 W
-----161941Z 065856 /43

P R 161826Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5981
INFO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
AMCONSUL MONTREAL
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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MONTREAL FOR ICAO

PARIS FOR UNESCO

ROME FOR FODAG

VIENNA FOR UNIDO

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: AORG, AFIN, UN
SUBJECT: GENEVA GROUP XIV: AN OVERVIEW WITH PROPOSALS FOR NEXT
STEPS

1. SUMMARY. THE MISSION LOOKS TOWARDS THE MARCH 29-30
GENEVA GROUP (GG) CONSULTATIVE LEVEL MEETING. THIS MEET-
ING WILL BE CRUCIAL IN MAINTAINING THE MOMENTUM THAT HAS
CARRIED US FROM THE "FRENCH PROPOSAL" OF A YEAR AGO TO
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THE BETTER TUNED "INDICATIVE TARGET FIGURE" INITIATIVE
NOW UNDERTAKEN. AS AT THE OCTOBER 6 CONSULTATIVE LEVEL
MEETING (USUN 4275), IT SHOULD BE OUR AIM ONCE AGAIN TO
ATTAIN CLEAR AGREEMENT FROM THIS CONSULTATIVE LEVEL
MEETING ON CONCRETE AND PRACTICABLE NEXT STEPS. THE
OVERVIEW WHICH FOLLOWS OF THE PROGRESS THUS FAR WITH
THE NEW GG APPROACH INDICATES THAT, WHILE IT AIMS AT A

SIMPLE AND EASY SOLUTION, ITS MOMENTUM HAS CARRIED US INSTEAD TOWARD THE NEED FOR MUCH MORE SOPHISTICATED INVOLVEMENT IN THE BUDGET-BUILDING PROCESS IF THE INITIATIVE IS NOT TO DISSIPATE. WE RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, THAT THE MARCH 29-30 CONSULTATIVE LEVEL MEETING FOCUS ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL COORDINATION AND THAT THE US (OR CO-CHAIRMAN) CONSIDER TABLING A PAPER IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THIS FOCUS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE FIND OURSELVES WELL SHORT OF MID-STREAM IN THE EFFORT INSPIRED BY FRANCE A YEAR AGO TO SET UPWARD GROWTH FIGURES IN THE BUDGETS OF THE FOUR LARGEST UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES (ILO, FAO, UNESCO AND WHO). GG DEMARCHES IN PAST MONTHS APPEAR TO HAVE PUT THE SECRETARIATS OF THESE BODIES ON NOTICE THAT A CERTAIN THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE MAY HAVE BEEN REACHED AMONG THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS. THE PROBLEM IS THAT SECRETARIATS LEARNED EARLY ON TO BUILD INTO THEIR BUDGET PRESENTATIONS PRIOR COMPENSATION FOR ANTICIPATED SYMBOLIC CUTS. ALTHOUGH GG APPROACHES APPEAR TO HAVE HAD SOME INITIAL SHOCK EFFECTS, WE MUST ANTICIPATE THAT SECRETARIATS WILL COME IN TIME TO TREAT THESE GG PRESSURES SIMPLY AS ANOTHER FACTOR TO BE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE IN THEIR BUDGET-BUILDING, AND COMPENSATORY DEVICES WILL BE CONTRIVED. THUS, THE INITIAL BENEFITS OF THE "INDICATIVE TARGET FIGURE" APPROACH MAY BEGIN TO ERODE FAIRLY QUICKLY.

3. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE PRESENT APPROACH DISCARDS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ANY ATTEMPT AT PROGRAM ANALYSIS BY GOVERNMENTS IN FAVOR OF SIMPLY SETTING ARBITRARY CEILINGS ON BUDGETS. ALTHOUGH INDICATING A READINESS TO REACT POSITIVELY TO TIMELY AND POLITICALLY SUSTAINABLE INTERVENTIONS BY GG GOVERNMENTS, SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS HAVE NONETHELESS REMINDED US THAT THE SIZES OF THEIR BUDGETS FLOW FROM PROGRAM INITIATIVES WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY VOTED TO SUPPORT AND, IN SOME CASES, WERE PROMINENT IN PROPOSING. BY ESTABLISHING "INDICATIVE TARGET FIGURES" WE ATTEMPT TO SUPERIMPOSE ARBITRARY GG DETERMINATIONS UPON SECRETARIAT PROCESSES WHICH PRESUME TO FLOW PURELY AND NEUTRALLY FROM DECISIONS TAKEN IN INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES. IN THE LONG RUN IT WON'T WORK. INEVITABLY SECRETARIATS WILL BEGIN TRANSFERRING TO THOSE WHO SET "INDICATIVE TARGET FIGURES" THE ONUS OF IDENTIFYING THE PROGRAM CONTENT TO BE CONTAINED WITHIN THESE CEILINGS AND OF DEFENDING THE PROGRAM DELETIONS WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE MADE.

4. THIS IS TO SAY THAT SECRETARIES GENERAL, BEING POLITICALLY SENSITIVE AS THEY MUST, WILL SEEK WITHIN THE MARGINS OPEN TO THEM TO APPEASE GG CONCERNS, BUT WILL NOT PERMIT THEMSELVES OVER TIME TO BE CO-OPTED INTO SILENT ACCEPTANCE OF "INDICATIVE TARGET FIGURES" WHERE THESE CONFLICT WITH THE INTERESTS OF OTHER MAJOR CLUSTERS OF MEMBERS WHOM THEY ALSO MUST ACCOMMODATE. THE EXTREME OF THIS TENDENCY, AS SECRETARIATS STAND ASIDE, WOULD BE ONE WHICH CARRIED US TOWARD MULTILATERAL CONFRONTATION WITH A CONCERNED MAJORITY SUCH AS THE LDC'S, WITH THE SECRETARIATS SIMPLY KEEPING SCORE ON THE PROGRAM DIRECTION GIVEN THEM. OBVIOUSLY, IT WOULD BE BAD POLITICS ON OUR PART TO PERMIT THIS TO EVENTUATE. BUT TO ARREST THIS TENDENCY AND KEEP THE UPPER HAND IN GG CONSULTATIONS WITH SECRETARIATS, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO DEMONSTRATE TO SECRETARIATS A KNOWLEDGE-ABILITY OF PROGRAMS AND ALTERNATIVES WHICH WE DO NOT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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5. THUS, THE MISSION BELIEVES THAT THE INITIATIVES OF THE PAST YEAR WILL HAVE TO BE REINFORCED IN THE NEAR FUTURE BY A DEMONSTRATED CAPACITY TO GRAPPLE OBJECTIVELY WITH PROGRAM CONTENT -- AS THE SECRETARIATS MUST. IF WE ATTEMPT TO DODGE THIS, WE CAN EXPECT THAT SECRETARIES GENERAL WILL BE INCLINED TO LET THE COMPLEX OF PROGRAM/COST ISSUES COAST TOWARD POLITICAL CONFRONTATIONS IN WHICH THEY CAN POSE AS NEUTRAL WHILE ANTICIPATING SUPPORT

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FOR INCREASED PROGRAMS WITHOUT REGARD TO THE INCREASED COSTS. TO PERSEVERE AS A POTENT INFLUENCE UPON SECRETARIAT BUDGET-BUILDINGAN WE WILL NEED TO BE AS MUCH A MASTER OF PROGRAM CONTENT AS ARE THE SECRETARIATS. THIS POSES A NEW RESPONSIBILITY TO BE ASSUMED BY NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS. BUT IT IS, AFTER ALL, THE COROLLARY TO THE PASSIVE AND NEUTRAL POSTURE GOVERNMENTS COLLECTIVELY HAVE IMPOSED UPON THE SECRETARIATS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- AND NOT UNWISELY.

6. THE CIRCUMSPECTION INITIALLY SHOWN BY OTHERS TOWARD THE "FRENCH PROPOSAL" AROSE, WE BELIEVE, FROM A SHARED AWARENESS AMONG MANY THAT IT POINTED US IN A DIRECTION OF GRAPPLING ULTIMATELY WITH THIS CORE PROBLEM. (SOME RECOMMENDED GOING IMMEDIATELY TO THIS CORE.) OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS HAVE NOT IN THE PAST SHARED WITH SECRETARIATS THE RESPONSIBILITY OR CAPACITIES FOR DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND FOR CALCULATING THEIR FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS. WE HAVE PREFERRED INSTEAD TO RESORT TO WHITTILING AWAY SOMEWHAT BLINDLY AND BELATEDLY AT BUDGETS, WITHOUT INQUIRING IN ANY TRULY STRUCTURED WAY INTO THEIR PROGRAMMATIC CONTENTS. ONE SEGMENT OF A NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT MAY HAVE ACQUAINTED ITSELF WITH SOME OF THE PROGRAMS OF ONE OR ANOTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION BUT, LOOKING ACROSS THE BOARD, NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS AS A WHILE HAVE LEFT PROGRAM FORMULATION FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- ITS DEFINITION AND ITS COSTING OUT -- LARGELY UP TO THE RESPECTIVE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIATS.

7. ULTIMATELY, THEREFORE, WE MUST PREPARE OURSELVES TO GRAPPLE WITH THE CORE ISSUE OF PROGRAM CONTENT. WHILE MAXIMIZING WHATEVER ADVANTAGES WE MAY OBTAIN FROM OUR PRESENT DEMARCHES, WE NEED TO PREPARE OURSELVES TO GRAPPLE WITH THE PROBLEM OF PROGRAMS: WHICH SHOULD BE SUPPRESSED? WHICH REDUCED? WHICH ENHANCED? THIS PROSPECT, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IF UNMENTIONED HERETOFORE, IS NEVERTHELESS THE BASIC TASK WHICH IS BEFORE THE MARCH 29-30 MEETING. RESOLUTION OF THESE QUESTIONS IS A WAY OFF, OF COURSE, BUT THE NEXT STEPS NEED TO BE AGREED UPON AT THIS JUNCTURE IF THE MOMENTUM AND FLUIDITY OF THE PRESENT INITIATIVE IS TO BE MAINTAINED SATISFACTORILY.

8. WE RECOMMEND, CONSEQUENTLY, THAT THE MARCH 29-30 GG CONSULTATIVE LEVEL MEETING BE MADE AN OCCASION, NOT SIMPLY FOR REVIEWING STEPS TAKEN OR STEPS TO BE REPEATED, BUT RATHER FOR EVALUATING THE DIRECTION IN WHICH WE FIND THE LOGIC OF OUR PRESENT INITIATIVE CARRYING US. OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO PLACE OURSELVES ON AS NEAR TO AN EQUAL FOOTING AS POSSIBLE WITH SECRETARIATS AS WE APPROACH THE NEXT CYCLES OF PROGRAM REVIEW AND DEFINITION IN THESE ORGANIZATIONS. THE U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THIS EFFORT, FOR EXAMPLE, MIGHT BE FOR US TO VOLUNTEER TO CONDUCT SUCH NATIONAL PROGRAM ANALYSES FOR WHO AND FAO. (ILO AND UNESCO PROBABLY WOULD POSE PROBLEMS FOR US AT PRESENT, BUT SHOULD NOT FOR OTHER GG MEMBERS.) WE WOULD ENCOURAGE TWO OR THREE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS TO VOLUNTEER TO CONDUCT SIMILAR NATIONAL ANALYSES FOR THE REMAINING OF THESE FOUR ORGANIZATIONS. THE RESULTS OF THESE ANALYSES IN CAPITALS (MADE AVAILABLE POSSIBLY THREE-FOUR MONTHS HENCE) COULD THEN BE FED BACK TO THE GG FOR DISCUSSION, AND THEREAFTER REFERRED TO ALL GG CAPITALS FOR COMMENT. AN INSTRUCTED EXCHANGE IN THE GG, PERHAPS FOUR-FIVE MONTHS HENCE, COULD ATTEMPT TO SEEK A COMMON VIEW AND PREPARE THE WAY WITH CONCRETE PROGRAMMATIC IDEAS FOR THE AUTUMN 1977 RECONVENING OF THE GG AT THE CONSULTATIVE LEVEL IN NEW YORK.

9. IN THE MEANTIME, JUST INITIATING THE EFFORT WOULD GIVE US MATERIAL TO ENABLE GG COUNTRIES TO ADOPT MORE INFORMED CONCERNED POSITIONS WITH RESPECT TO WHO PROGRAMS THAT WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE UPCOMING WORLD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HEALTH ASSEMBLY AND WHICH WILL FORM THE PROGRAMMATIC

BASE FOR THE 1980-1981 BIENNIUM WHO BUDGET.

10. IN ORDER TO GET THE GG MOVING IN THE FOREGOING
DIRECTION, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT CONSIDER
TABLING A PAPER AT THE MARCH 29-30 MEETING -- POSSIBLY
IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE UK -- TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR
DISCUSSION. SORENSON

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